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LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2016
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

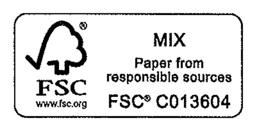
Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Names: Dandekar, Deepra, editor. | Tschacher, Torsten, editor.
Title: Islam, Sufism and everyday politics of belonging in South Asia / edited by Deepra Dandekar and Torsten Tschacher.
Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2016. | Series: Routledge advances in South Asian studies ; 31 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016009863| ISBN 9781138910683 (hardback) | ISBN 9781315693316 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Sufis–Political activity–South Asia. | Sufism–Political aspects–South Asia. | Islam and politics–South Asia. | South Asia–Politics and government.
Classification: LCC BP188.8.S64 I75 2016 | DDC 297.40954–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016009863

ISBN: 978-1-138-91068-3 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-69331-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Taylor & Francis Books



Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

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Interfaces of heterodox Islam and nationalist politics from the Balkans, Turkey and India[1]

Robert M. Hayden

I am grateful to the editors for letting me move rather far past the boundaries of probably anyone's definition of 'South Asia'. Though I have worked on the changing identities of a Hindu/Muslim saint and his shrine in central India intermittently since 1992 (Hayden 2002; Hayden and Valenzuela 2014), for the past 30 years most of my professional work has focused on the Balkans. As the historian Maria Todorova has argued convincingly (Todorova 1996), the concept of 'the Balkans' itself is a heritage of the centuries of Ottoman rule in Southeastern Europe, *Balkan* being Turkish for 'mountain', and the Balkans are certainly that, mountainous. However, various cultural and linguistic connections can be easily seen in the region roughly defined as between Bosnia in the west, and Bengal in the east, Bijapur in the south, this last as a surrogate for all of the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan. These connections reflect the centuries in which Muslim polities ruled most of this vast expanse. All of this territory was and is outside the Arabic-speaking world, and in all of it, Muslims of various definitions have lived intermingled with non-Muslims: Roman Catholics, eastern Christians (also known as Orthodox Christians), Hindus of varying communities, Sikhs, Buddhists, to name only a few. That there was a sense of a common cultural and religious world among Muslims in this vast region can be seen in the continuities in the architectural, artistic and literary traditions of the larger area. Of course, speakers of Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Albanian and Greek who go to South Asia are struck by the cognates in those languages and in Hindi-Urdu, derived from Persian, Turkish and Arabic, words from this last often as mediated by one or both of the other two. Indeed, if one looks at the continuities in this larger range of Muslim polities from Bengal to Bosnia until the nineteenth century, the utility of the concepts of 'South Asia' on the one hand, 'the Balkans' on the other, becomes suspect, diverting attention from the cultural similarities by the presumption of inherent difference.

For the purposes of this volume, what is interesting about all of this is that some of the Sufi traditions of the formerly Ottoman world (though generally known as dervish, or some variation on that term instead of Sufi),[2] have been the focus both of political pressures as 'anti-national' and of other political and academic imagery as 'syncretic' and thereby linking various communities.

Thus looking at the formerly Ottoman region offers another take on the politics of belonging in what is sometimes a bit unhappily labeled 'heterodox Islam' (unfortunate in seeming to acknowledge Sunni Islam as defining orthodoxy), but involving quite different players and histories in constructions of politics and dominance.

Let me start in central Anatolia, in a town called Hacibektaş after the saint of the same name. Haci Bektaş Veli, the saint, is said to have founded his order (*tarikat*) in the thirteenth century, and it became one of the most powerful dervish orders in the Ottoman Empire. The complex contains his tomb (*türbe*), the lodge (*tekke*) housing his followers, the house for the subsequent leaders, the tombs of leaders and devotees, plus various courtyards, fountains, storerooms, kitchens and the other structures required for the main complex of a major religious order. In 2008, when I visited the place, in front of the complex was a statue of Atatürk – no surprise – and billboards equating a saying by Haci Bektaş (*The road that does not pass through science will lead you to darkness*) with one by Atatürk (*Science is the truest path illuminator in life*), which is more surprising, for reasons explained below (Figure 1.1). A plaque in Turkish and English states that:

> the system of his [Haci Bektaş's] thought is based: [on] tolerance, peace, love and equality still illuminates the humanity [sic]. His social ideologies have been applied to everyday's [sic] life 600 years later by Kemal Atatürk the creator of modern Republic of Turkey. His thoughts shared the same point of view with the universal human rights declaration which is announced in [sic] December 10 1948.

As for those thoughts, a plaque in the complex states them succinctly, if not necessarily always quite grammatically, in English:

> Search and find.
> Educate the women.
> Even if you are hurt, don't hurt.
> Sages are pure sometimes purifiers.
> First stage of attainment is modesty.
> Whatever you look for, search in you.
> Don't forget even your enemy is human.
> Control your hand, your word, your lust.
> Beauty of human is in the beauty of his words.
> Prophets and saints are God's gift to humanity.
> Road that doesn't go through science is perilous.
> Don't try to find faults neither in nation nor individual.
> How nice to ones who put light in the darkness of thought.
> Don't do anything to anyone if you don't want it to be done to you.
> Peace be with you!
> (Huu dost!)



Figure 1.1 Billboards in front of the tomb/lodge complex of Haci Bektaş Veli, a thirteenth-century saint, in the town named after him, Hacibektaş, Turkey, June 2008. The left billboard (in red) has an image of Atatürk, founder of the modern Turkish state, and his saying that science is the truest path illuminator in life. The right billboard has an image of Haci Bektaş and his saying that the road that does not pass through science will lead you to darkness. The twentieth-century politician thus appropriated the thirteenth-century saint

(Translations by Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir. Photo courtesy Robert M. Hayden)

The linkage of Haci Bektaş with Atatürk and the republic seems a clear indication that Bektaşism is viewed as 'bringing about national integration, fostering humanism and syncretism' as per the aims of this volume, and certainly the references to educating women, to science and self-control are congruent with Atatürk's modernization program. Yet the same Atatürk who is said to have implemented Haci Bektaş's social ideologies actually closed down this complex, among others, banning all of the dervish orders including the Bektaşis, in 1925, two years after proclaiming the Republic of Turkey out of part of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, following the empire's collapse after World War I. The closure of the dervish orders was part of Atatürk's effort to destroy the power of the Ottoman religious establishment – he had, after all, abolished the Caliphate in 1922 – whose members had opposed him

and his plans to build a new, modern Turkey (Stirling 1958), in part by imposing secularism.

In fact, the Bektaşi complex in the town of Hacibektaş is not the home of the Bektaşi order, but rather a museum, opened in 1964 – after 39 years in which the complex had been closed and inaccessible to the followers of Haci Bektaş. At present, while the saint's followers can visit the museum, they have to pay to do so; the way in which the complex is now structured hinders Alevi-Bektaşi forms of worship while facilitating Sunni practices (see Harmanşah et al. 2014), and the main form of Alevi worship, the *cem* ceremony, is prohibited entirely in the complex. Other dervish complexes have similarly been turned into museums, with the Mevlana museum in Konya the greatest in international prominence due to the popularity in the West of the works of 'Rumi', the founder (Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī, Mevlana), but also structured now to obstruct the worship practices of Alevis/Mevlevis while facilitating those of Sunni Islam (ibid.).[3]

The site closure and ban of the order in 1925, however, was not the first such challenge to the Bektaşis. The order was also banned by Sultan Mahmud II in 1826, and its properties given to the Nekşibendis, a Sunni order. By the early twentieth century, some Bektaşi sites were also being claimed by Christians (Hasluck 1973 [1929]). If we look at the situation of the Bektaşis over nearly the past two centuries, it seems that their order has faced challenges, and its sites have been subject to appropriation by other religious communities, for the entire period. Neither were the Bektaşis the only dervish order to face such challenges in the late Ottoman Empire and the post-Ottoman states. To put the matter succinctly, in parts of the post-Ottoman Balkans and Anatolia in which Islam is the dominant religion of heritage, if not always of practice, the Sufi or dervish versions have been under strong pressure, even repression, even in avowedly secular states. Where Christians have come to rule, the Sufi/dervish orders have suffered less outright repression (at least after 1878), yet have also seen their major shrines and other sites become absorbed into Christian religioscapes, many ultimately losing their identities as Muslim sites. Sometimes, as explained below, this Christianization of a dervish site has had the approval of Sunni authorities, whose hostility to saints seems to lead them to think it better that a saint be seen as Christian than as Muslim, even when (or maybe because) it is mainly Muslims who go to pray at the site.

If we think about the politics of belonging in the post-Ottoman nation-states, the dervish orders in the Balkans and Anatolia have had mixed receptions depending on whether the polities were predominantly Christian or predominantly Muslim. In the former case, the presumption has always been that Muslims, even when citizens, are outside the national corpus, but the non-Sunni Muslims have not been matters of separate concern to governments, which has allowed freedom to the dervish orders to continue their distinctive practices – unless and until Christians decide that a dervish site is 'really' Christian and appropriate it. In Sunni-dominated polities, on the other hand, adherents of the dervish orders were also seen as outside the national corpus, and their major sites were often subject to appropriation by Sunnis.

Another way to look at the position of the dervish orders is provided by the model of 'antagonistic tolerance' (Hayden 2002; Hayden and Walker 2013), which assumes that major ethno-religious groups that live intermingled (though rarely intermarrying) will do so in a condition of competitive sharing of space, marked by competition over central and/or prominent religious sites. Such antagonistic tolerance is common in colonial polities, and also in nation-states in which the majority nation (*natio, das Volk, narod*), an ethnic group in American terms, is defined by a primary religious criterion. In such polities, citizens of another religious heritage may be excluded conceptually from the sovereign nation, even when the state proclaims itself to be a democracy (Hayden 1992). The post-Ottoman Balkans and Anatolia provide good comparison with South Asia because they manifest post-imperial nation-state formations in which, in each case, one ethno-religious group was seen as the titular, sovereign nation in the new state, even when the state was proclaimed to be secular.

This chapter considers indicators of belonging/exclusion by dervish groups in the post-Ottoman Balkans and Anatolia/Turkey, as well as practices by the latter that cope with this situation. Various dervishes arrived in the region with the Ottoman conquests of the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, but did not organize into orders until late in the fifteenth century (Clayer 2011). These orders were closely tied to centers in Istanbul or elsewhere in Ottoman Anatolia, such as Ankara (the Bayrami), Konya (the Mevlevi) and Hacibektaş (the Bektaşi). These last were not Sunni but rather are increasingly known as Alevis, probably lumping them together on the basis of their non-Sunni practices. The Ottoman Empire's 'Sunnitification' is generally seen as having developed during the sixteenth century (see Terzioğlu 2013), but the non-Sunni *tarikatlar* were generally able to function in at least some parts of the empire until its end in 1922. In any event, the Nekşibendis were very much a Sunni order, a point of some importance in light of what happened to the non-Sunni orders in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As for the non-Sunni orders, each had, by definition, its own devotional practices. Among the non-Sunni orders in the Ottoman imperial space, some practices were so unorthodox from a Sunni perspective as to seem to Sunnis to be non-Islamic. The Bektaşis provide a good example: they do not pray in mosques, or normally even visit them, but rather hold their own communal *cem* ceremonies in buildings dedicated to that purpose (*cemevi*), and consume wine in the course of some rituals. These customs are not unique to the dervish orders, but are found among a larger population in the region known in Turkish as Alevis (see Sözer 2014: 3–4). While Alevis claim to be a community of birth (one must be born an Alevi), the dervish orders are communities of adherence; however, Alevis and some of the dervish orders, especially the Bektaşis, share many beliefs and practices. Alevi-Bektaşis do not observe Ramadan but rather Muharram. Alevi and Bektaşi women do not veil or

cover their heads, and take part in *cem* ceremonies. It has long been suggested that some Alevi-Bektaşi beliefs and practices (e.g. belief in a form of trinity [albeit God, Mohammed and Ali], utilization of wine or other alcohol in ritual, identification of the 12 imams with the disciples of Christ) are either derived in part from those of Christianity or at least served as an attractive alternative belief for Christians (Birge 1965: 215–218), and Hasluck (1973 [1929]: 456 ff.) documented considerable sharing of religious sites between Bektaşi and Christians in the very late Ottoman Empire. An example of a *tekke/türbe* complex (*külliye*) built on the site of a church or monastery is that of Battal Gazi, in Seyitgazi, Eskişehir (Yürekli 2012).

What the dervish/Sufi orders of the Ottoman Empire certainly shared with local forms of Orthodox Christianity was a belief in the efficacy of appealing to saints for assistance and benefits. These saints could be the founder of an order, or one of the deceased former heads of a local *tekke*. For the Christians, saints could be Biblical, both from the Old and New Testaments, or more local. The non-Sunni Muslims could also venerate Old Testament figures, such as St Ilija/Ilya/Ilyas. As discussed below, there are shrines in the Balkans to this saint that are still visited by both Muslims and Christians, as there are other shrines in which the saint may have both a Muslim and a Christian identity. The British archaeologist and ethnologist F.W. Hasluck noted nearly a century ago that Christians visited the Haci Bektaş *tekke* and that some also claimed that the founder's tomb there was really that of a Christian saint (Hasluck 1973 [1929]: 109–110). Such stories of the single saint having 'really' been a Muslim on the one hand and a Christian on the other, so similar to the dual identities of some Sufi saints and Nāth saints in central India (see e.g., Bouiller and Khan 2009; Deák 2010), is still found today, as discussed further below.

Comparing imperial withdrawals and their consequences

Despite their many differences, South Asia, Anatolia and the Balkans share some parallel historical developments. In both cases, Muslim conquerors took control over large territories starting in the eleventh century. In both cases, there were conversions from the indigenous religions,[4] sparking similar political discourses in later years about conversion as a tactic of conquest. In both cases, a Muslim religioscape came into existence, in some places displacing the structures of the indigenous religions. In both cases, the withdrawal of the imperial structures that had enforced stability led to partitions on ethno-religious grounds, along with the processes now called ethnic cleansing: the Partition of India in 1947 was preceded by the expulsion of Turks and the Muslims from the newly independent Greece and Serbia in the nineteenth century, the multiple forced movements of populations with the partition of Macedonia in 1912–13, the mass killings of Armenians in Anatolia in 1915, and the compulsory 'population exchange' between Greece and Turkey in 1923 that displaced almost all of the Orthodox

Christians from Turkey and Muslims from Greece (Clark 2006; Gingeras 2009).

The well-known accounts of the violence that took place during the Partition of Punjab are matched by accounts of similar violence in Macedonia (see Brown 2013; Yosmaoğlu 2014), among other places. On the other hand, analyses of the supposedly peaceful, pre-national pasts in both cases are also common (compare Doumanis 2013; Pandey 2001). There were also, of course, differences. In South Asia the last empire was a European colonial one that withdrew, leaving domestic political regimes in charge of new states, while in almost all of the Balkans, the imperial regime was itself less colonial[5] and collapsed, with different outcomes in the Turkish-speaking heartland of Anatolia and eastern Thrace from in the peripheries. In the European parts of the empire, everywhere but Bosnia and Cyprus,[6] Ottoman rule was succeeded by domestic political regimes, but in Anatolia and eastern Thrace, Ottoman rule was succeeded by the republic regime proclaimed by Atatürk in 1923. Thus in the new Republic of Turkey, a domestic regime was replaced by another domestic regime.

The nation-states that succeeded the empires were officially secular but each had a majority of one religious community. In what had been the European parts of the empire, all of the new states except Albania had majority populations that were Orthodox Christians, and minority Muslim populations. Albania, on the other hand, had a majority Muslim population with sizeable Christian minorities, both Orthodox and Roman Catholic. In the new Republic of Turkey, what had been sizeable Christian minorities had been largely eliminated – the Armenians through mass killings and deportations in 1915, the Greeks through the 'population exchange' of 1923 that followed the defeat of the Greek invasion of 1920 and the consequent war of Turkish independence from 1920–22, plus the expulsion of most of the Greeks of Istanbul in 1955.

If we compare these post-imperial settings, we see that in South Asia, the withdrawal of European colonial power left in place domestic political regimes, in states which each had a majority religious community: Hindu in India, Muslim in Pakistan (later Pakistan and Bangladesh), Buddhists in Sri Lanka. Each also had, at least initially, a relatively large religious minority and other smaller ones: Muslim in India, Hindu in Pakistan (though this declined rapidly immediately after independence), Hindu in Sri Lanka. In the Balkans, the domestic political regimes that succeeded imperialism all had ethno-religious majorities: Orthodox Christian in Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia (until 1919) and Yugoslavia (after 1919, and incorporating formerly Ottoman territories in Bosnia, Macedonia and the Sandžak of Novi Pazar); Muslim in Albania and Turkey. The Christian-majority polities had sizeable Muslim minorities, the Muslim-majority ones had sizeable Christian minorities. In all cases each religious population was largely endogamous, and seen as communities, coded increasingly in Europe as nations.

Dervish orders in Muslim-majority post-Ottoman states in Europe: Turkey and Albania

As already noted, Ottoman Anatolia was the site of the headquarters of a number of dervish orders. The one that has attracted most scholarly attention has been the Bektaşis, perhaps because of their seemingly close parallels to Orthodox Christianity, on the one hand, and also their conflicted relationships with the Sunni emperors in the early nineteenth century and with Atatürk's republic in 1925. The Bektaşis might well qualify as the dervish order that has displayed the greatest syncretism with other traditions, and also humanism. In a thorough account of the historical development of Bektaşism, Albert Doja (2006) has analyzed the order's rejection of Sunni orthodoxy, and its essential humanism, inclusion of women and other aspects that are now cited to show the pre-modern modernity of the Bektaşis. Indeed, this is the image now utilized by the Turkish state – or at least, it was as of 2008, as described above. Yet, as noted, those claimed characteristics did not stop Atatürk from suppressing the Bektaşis, along with all other dervish orders in Turkey, in 1925, and indeed, the non-Sunni-orthodox aspect of the Bektaşis is probably part of what caused the order to be suppressed by the Ottoman emperor in 1826.

To begin with the Ottoman period, the Bektaşi order became large and powerful in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a mixed relationship with the empire, which became increasingly Sunni. The Bektaşis had particular power since they were closely linked to the Janissaries (*Yeniçeri*), the core of the Ottoman military forces until the early nineteenth century. In 1826, the sultan broke up the Janissaries as overly powerful, and also prohibited the Bektaşi order, giving its lands to the Nekşibendis and building a mosque in the complex containing the main Bektaşi *tekke*, and the tomb of Haci Bektaş, in central Anatolia. Even before this decree there had been a dispute between two families over leadership of the Bektaşi *tarikat*, which continued even after the 1826 decree banning the order. However, after 1826 a member of one of these families was able to gain the post of *türbedar* and act effectively as head of the order despite the presence of the Nekşibendi *shayk* (Öztürk 2012: 56), which would go a long way toward explaining how it happened that by the time Hasluck reached the *tekke ca.* 1913, it was once again a Bektaşi site. In fact, this mechanism of maintaining some control by the order after the closing down of dervish lodges may have been common. Even after the organizational structure of the lodges was severely disrupted, the *türbedars* were allowed to keep their occupation. Even in 2014 there were two major families fighting over the rights to claim to be the keepers of a *tekke* and *türbe*; of course, at present this is only symbolic, as neither the lodge nor the *türbe* will be under their control. However, they are not alone; several other groups within the Alevi organizations also have such claims.[7]

Hasluck is also helpful in pointing out the extent to which Bektaşi sites in Anatolia and elsewhere were also being claimed by Christians in 1913. He interprets this situation as evidence of syncretism in the beliefs of the two communities, but also as evidence of a Bektaşi aim to 'absorb Christianity into Bektashism' (Hasluck 1973: vol. II, 470). However, Hasluck then immediately notes the importance of the political context in saying that Bektaşi aims to convert Christians in Albania were supported by the local Ottoman administrators there. The reverse, however, may also have been true. Throughout the nineteenth century, the power of the Ottoman state was visibly failing, and so was its capacity to impose a system in which Muslims were legally dominant over non-Muslims. The Tanzimat's promises of equality both empowered Christians and weakened the advantage held by Muslims. I am reminded of the *de facto* equalizing effect that British rule had in formerly Muslim-ruled areas of central India, as seen in the trajectory of increasingly successful Hindu claims on the shrine at Madhi (see Hayden 2002), and it may be that Christians throughout the Ottoman Empire, including Anatolia, were emboldened to make claims, albeit not legal or official ones, on Bektaşi shrines at a time when that order was in disfavor.

Be that as it may, by the end of Ottoman rule, the Bektaşi order in Turkey was officially banned but still functioning. It faced competition from the Sunni Nekşibendis, while there were also informal Christian claims for some sites.

As noted earlier, all of the dervish orders were banned in the earliest years of the republic, in 1925, as part of Atatürk's program of modernization. Religion was to be removed from public life, and religious authorities either brought under control of the state, or banned. This form of secularization effectively favored Sunni Islam, as had the Ottoman Empire. Since the first electoral victory of the Islamist AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, or Justice and Development Party) in 2002, the Turkish state has become increasingly openly Sunni in orientation. In the early part of the decade starting in 2000, Alevi organizations were able to organize and function openly (Walton 2013). However, the AKP's increasing electoral success facilitated an open favoring of Sunni Islam in the country, with noticeable effects in terms of advancing public adherence to Sunni practices that had been discouraged or even forbidden in the secularism set up by Atatürk. Thus the situation of dervish orders in Sunni-dominated post-Ottoman Turkey, which had improved to some extent in the early years of the twenty-first century, is still subordinated in a state that openly favors Sunni orthodoxy.

The only Muslim-majority state in the post-Ottoman Balkans was and is Albania.[8] With the closing of the main *tekke* and banning of the order in 1826, Albania became the main center of Bektaşism in the nineteenth century. However, the Albanian state in effect accompanied the recognition of Bektaşism as one of the official religions of the country with increasing state control over its institutions.

The arrival of communist rule in 1945 did not help the Bektaşis, whose order was soon put under Party control. In 1967, the government banned religion entirely, which led to the destruction of many of the Bektaşi *tekkes*, along

with other religious institutions and buildings. The order was reinvigorated after the fall of communism.

Yet the reinvigorated Bektaşism of post-communist Albania is not as strong politically as it was in the first half of the twentieth century. Albert Doja (2006: 100–102) sees a movement towards Sunni orthodoxy on the part of the Albanian Bektaşis, reflecting the increased influence of Sunnis internationally. Certainly much of the funding for Muslim communities in the Balkans comes from Saudi and Turkish sources that heavily favor Sunni orthodoxy. On the other hand, even though the primary link between Bektaşism and Shia Islam is the adoration of Ali, Iran has been actively supporting Bektaşis and Alevis (Doja 2006: 103). In this regard, Bektaşism may be seen as increasingly manifesting syncretism, but whereas the main syncretism noted in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was with Christianity, the connection now is between Sunni and Shia Islam.

This last observation leads to the conclusion that syncretism is dependent in large part on the presence of the other community with which practices, beliefs, saints and sites are said to be shared. In the case of the Muslim-majority states of post-Ottoman Europe, the dervish orders have been in competitive relations with Sunni state-supported hierarchies. This has not led to the equality of the dervish groups with Sunni Muslims, but rather to subordination of Alevis and the dervish orders to Sunni hierarchies.

Dervish orders and Alevis in Christian-majority post-Ottoman states

It may at first glance be surprising that the dervish orders survived better in some of the Christian-majority post-Ottoman states, especially since those states were generally not well inclined toward Islam. Greece and Serbia, which were the first two states to gain independence, are not interesting, at least in their nineteenth-century incarnations, since both of the new states drove many Muslims from their territories, and engaged in conscious processes of de-Ottomanization in their cities (Koumaridis 2006; Мишкёвић 2011). Both later gained substantial Muslim populations with their territorial acquisitions at the expense of the Ottoman Empire in 1912–13 and at the end of World War I, and I will consider the position of dervishes in Yugoslavia, which succeeded Serbia after World War I.

Bulgaria, however, which gained *de facto* independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878, provides some interesting case studies. While the dervish orders are generally thought to have been suppressed in Ottoman Bulgaria, Hande Sözer (2014) has found that Alevi Bulgarian Turks belong to a number of *tarikatlar*, primarily the Bektaşi and Babai orders. These are largely unstudied (but see Gramatikova 2001), because research on Muslims in Bulgaria has focused overwhelmingly on Sunnis, both Turks and Bulgarian-speaking Pomaks (see e.g. Ghodsee 2010). Sözer's fieldwork focuses on relations between the various Alevi Bulgarian Turk communities to each other and to the *müftülük*, the Sunni religious establishment that is recognized by

the Bulgarian government and even financially supported by both Bulgaria and Turkey. While the Alevi groups distinguish themselves from each other, they also practice *takiye*, dissimulation, pretending to be Sunnis by engaging in what would appear to be Sunni practices, while still acknowledging to each other that they are only pretending. In Sözer's highly original analysis, engaging in this self-conscious pretense, affecting to engage in Sunni practices while not actually accepting Sunni doctrine and beliefs, reinforces their non-Sunni, Alevi identities, within the Alevi community itself. A striking saying that she recorded from her informants, in regard to their dealings with Sunnis, is 'Pay attention to the *Şeriat*, hide the *tarikat*'. What Sözer has identified, dissimulation, raises serious questions about other studies that see syncretism in practices such as supposedly non-Sunni groups following Sharia. Instead of manifesting either assimilation or syncretism, dissimulation actually reinforces separateness to the minority community, among its own members.

Dissimulation helps the minority Alevi communities avoid conflict with Sunnis, while passing essentially unnoticed among Bulgarian Christians, and even among scholars. On the other hand, when Alevis do come into conflict with the Bulgarian Orthodox Christian majority, they can expect no support from the Sunni Bulgarian Turks. In July 2008, Sözer and I observed a fascinating set of interactions at the Demir Baba *türbe* and *tekke*, near Razgrad, Bulgaria. The religious symbols and stylistic references within the *türbe* mark it unequivocally as an Alevi site. However, on July 20, 2008, a Bulgarian nationalist group organized a large meeting at the site to mark the founding of a monastery to St George. The Christians claimed that the *tekke* had been built after the Ottoman conquest on the site of an earlier Christian monastery, and that they were reclaiming the site. We were not surprised to see Bulgarian Orthodox Church clergy in attendance, including the bishop of Ruse, the largest city in the region. We were surprised, however, to see representatives of the *müftülük* sitting at the bishop's table. Alevi informants, however, were not surprised by this, saying that they did not expect support from the Sunni establishment. In this case, the hostility of the Sunni authorities to Alevism led the former to side with the Christians in a dispute between them and the Alevis.

At the same time, the Christian assertion of ownership of the Demir Baba site illustrates another problem faced by the Alevis in Bulgaria. There are in fact elements of Alevi practice that seem syncretic with those of Orthodox Christians, including the consumption of alcohol, the relatively equal position of women, and lighting candles at saints' shrines. Yet the similarity in practice has produced cases in which Christians have appropriated, or seemed on the way to appropriating, shrines the architecture of which marks them as having been built as *türbe*. One example is the Ak Yazul Baba *türbe* and *tekke* near Balchik, which is increasingly being referred to as the monastery and tomb of St Atanas, a Christian saint. In this case, there are stories about the supposedly close friendship between the Baba and the saint that seem to merge their identities, and lead to Christians asserting that the *türbe* is actually that of St

Atanas, masked as that of Ak Yazul Baba in order to fool the Ottoman rulers at the time when it was built – a kind of story told at some of the Sufi *dargāhs* in central India that are said by Hindus really to be the tombs of Hindu saints (see Hayden 2002).

Still, the elements of religious practice shared by Alevis and Christians may at times provide some protection to the former from the Sunni orthodox establishment in Bulgaria. For example, on the outskirts of Sofia is the *türbe* of Bali Efendi, a sixteenth-century Bayrami *shaykh* (Kmetova and Mikov 1998). During the Ottoman period the surrounding village was called Bali Efendi, and next to the *türbe* were a *tekke* and a mosque. After the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878, the place was renamed Knjazevo, in honor of the new prince (*knjaz*), and the *tekke* and mosque were torn down, the latter replaced by a church to St Ilya, though the *türbe* remains, identified as the tomb of Bali Efendi.

One of the forms of apparent syncretism between Orthodox Christians and Alevis and other adherents of dervish orders is that all light candles at the tombs or shrines of saints, a practice otherwise closely associated with Christianity in the region and very definitely not part of Sunni orthodox practice. There is one difference, however: Christians usually light beeswax candles, often obtained in churches, while Alevis and other Muslims generally light white paraffin candles (or occasionally green ones) that have been bought in shops. Be that as it may, the Sunni establishment in Bulgaria, the *müftülük*, discourages the burning of candles by Muslims, and when I visited the Bali Efendi *türbe* in July 2008, a note inside the main window of the *türbe* said, in Bulgarian, 'Do not light candles. Pray to Allah'. Yet candles had very clearly been lit. In this case, the non-Sunni practice was effectively in defiance of the Sunni religious authorities, and was performed by Christians as well as Muslims. This near-commonality of practice did not unite those two communities, however. Since Ilya is an Old Testament prophet, Muslims as well as Christians venerate him, and the saint's day is proclaimed on the front of the church: July 20. Christians go to the church on that day. Muslims, on the other hand, gather at the place, if not necessarily the church, on August 2, which is the equivalent of July 20 by the Julian calendar, which was superseded in the Bulgarian church in 1968 by the Gregorian calendar. The result is that the two communities celebrate St Ilya, on the saint's day, but 13 days apart.

As mentioned earlier, soon after independence in the nineteenth century, the Kingdom of Serbia expelled most Muslims and destroyed most structures associated with Islam: mosques, *tekkes*, cemeteries. However, after 1919 the new Yugoslavia found itself with large Muslim populations. Far from trying to expel these new citizens, the new Yugoslav state maintained Sharia courts for them, a continuation of the Austro-Hungarian practice after its assumption of control over Bosnia in 1878 (Greble 2014). The dervish orders were also maintained, but were banned in Communist Yugoslavia, in 1952, and many of the *tekkes* were closed, even torn down (Raudvere 2011). As was the

case in Turkey after the dervish orders were banned in 1925, some of the orders in Bosnia, at least, continued an underground existence. In the early 1980s it was reported that there were nine dervish orders, operating in Kosovo, Bosnia and Macedonia (Popović 1985: 245). The dervish orders had been able to establish a 'community' in 1974, which published a bulletin (Popović 1985: 244). The response was interesting: according to Alexandre Popović (1985: 244), 'the religious authorities of the official (Sunni) Muslim community reacted very violently at first' to the founding of the dervish community, but met with the leaders of the dervish group in 1979, leading to 'complex' relations as of 1979.

While the Muslim communities of Bosnia, Kosovo and Macedonia collectively formed a minority in federal Yugoslavia, with the disintegration of the country the situation changed: Muslims are a majority in Kosovo and minority in Macedonia. Bosnia is more complex: though Muslims form a plurality in a country with no single majority, nobody even pretends to believe that the country is unified, but rather is divided territorially into the 'Republika Srpska' (almost all Serbs, thus Orthodox Christian heritage) and the 'Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina' (almost all Bosniaks, meaning Bosnian Muslim heritage, and Croats, of Catholic heritage), although the federation is itself divided, so that parts are overwhelmingly Muslim, other parts overwhelmingly Croat (see Hayden 2007). Kosovo remains less than well studied. In Muslim-majority parts of Bosnia, it seems that the Sunni-oriented Sufi orders (e.g. Nekşibendi, Kaderi) are most active (Raudvere 2011: 8), which makes sense considering the heavy political and economic involvement in Bosnia of the Turkish state under the AKP government – a government that openly supports Sunni Islam. As for Macedonia, there are excellent critical analyses of efforts by Orthodox Christians to appropriate what had been Muslim shrines there, notably *tekkes* and *türbes* (Bowman 2010; Koneska and Jankuloski 2009).

The general experience of the dervish orders in the Christian-majority states thus seems to be that they have been able to maintain their practices even in periods under communism when they were officially banned, though they are able to do this better in smaller towns and villages than in large cities. However, dervish lodges and *türbes* have been appropriated by Christians, in processes that have been documented through the first decade of the twenty-first century and that certainly are still continuing. In the Muslim-majority parts of the former Yugoslavia, Sunni dervish orders seem to be more successful than the heterodox ones, in polities dominated by Sunni elites.

Syncretism and the inherent instability of liminality

I want to conclude with some thoughts on what the complex historical trajectories of the dervish orders of the Ottoman and post-Ottoman space may tell us that might be relevant to understanding the current situation of Sufi

orders in South Asia – which is, after all, the subject of this volume. There are both empirical findings and theoretical conclusions that are relevant.

First, empirically: in Ottoman and post-Ottoman space, efforts by Sunni-oriented states and followers to suppress the dervishes have occurred since at least the sixteenth century, and have included outright bans on specific orders (the Bektaşis in 1826, all of the orders in 1925), as well as pressure on Sufi orders to follow more closely the tenets of Sharia. The official Ottoman preference for Sunni Islam was shown in the transfer of Bektaşi assets to the Sunni Nekşibendis in 1826. Strikingly, even the early, avowedly secular and modernizing Republic of Turkey established by Atatürk actually favored Sunni Islam, so that Turkish secularism has in reality been premised on the presumption that the population was overwhelmingly Sunni. As the AKP consolidates power after its third major electoral victory, the orthodox Sunni orientation of the Turkish state is increasingly open. I would anticipate that the Alevis and followers of specific dervish orders are likely at least to appear to be more like Sunnis in their practices. However, Hande Sözer's analysis of the practice of dissimulation, as *takiye*, is relevant – some Alevis in Turkey, like their counterparts in Bulgaria, may well 'pay attention to the *Şeriat*, and hide the *tarikat*', though there has been much more openness by many Alevis since 2000. For our part, researchers studying Sufi orders in South Asia should consider whether *takiye* is being practiced there as well, especially in Muslim-majority polities in which political leaders and governmental structures favor Sunni Islam.

What is missing in the Muslim-majority post-Ottoman space is what observers a century ago saw as the most important syncretic aspects of Alevi-Bektaşi beliefs and practices: their putative connections to Christianity. This makes sense, because while Christianity was experiencing rising fortunes in the Ottoman Empire after the Tanzimat of 1839, in the post-Ottoman Muslim-majority states, Christians comprise minorities, without realistic access to power. In Turkey now, in the few places where Christians still form a substantial part of the population (in Hatay province in south-central Anatolia, bordering Syria), the Christians complain that the local 'Alawī (not to be confused with the Anatolian Alevis) have appropriated Christian saints' sites, while the 'Alawī complain that some of *their* sites have been appropriated by Sunnis (Prager 2013). In these contexts, then, the syncretic aspects of the dervish orders are generally either irrelevant (those shared with Christianity) or bring unwelcome attention by ruling Sunni establishments. In the latter case, that Alevi and dervish beliefs and practices differ from current forms of Sunni orthodoxy causes them to be perceived as deviant, not syncretic.

On the other hand, in Christian-majority states, the syncretic aspects of Alevi and dervish beliefs and practices with those of Orthodox Christians offer no advantages to the former community, since they are perceived as non-Christian, thus outside the majority's narratives of national identity. Ironically enough, the practices that Alevis and adherents of dervish orders share with Christians may actually make it easier for the latter to claim sites, such as *türbes* and *tekkes*, as being 'really' or 'originally' Christian, and thus appropriate them. Successful attempts at such appropriation have been documented in Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia and Serbia, and are continuing at present in these states, even those in the avowedly secular European Union (EU).

We can sum up the late- and post-Ottoman experience of the Alevis and the dervish orders as follows: in the Muslim-majority states, the dervish orders and Alevis have been repressed, though they have survived, largely through maintaining their practices out of the public eye, and perhaps as well through practicing dissimulation, *takiye*. In the Christian-majority states, there has been less open repression of the dervish orders (except during communism), but sites, especially those associated with saints, that are sacred for Alevis and followers of the various dervish *tarikats* have not infrequently been claimed, even appropriated by Christians, who say that the saints in question were really Christians.

Syncretism actually seems to have been a handicap in both situations, though for different reasons. In the Muslim-majority states, it is Sunni Islam that is favored officially, and the very deviances from what has been defined and redefined as Sunni orthodoxy have been used to disqualify the Alevis and dervishes as Muslims, or their practices as Islamic. In a recent example, Turkey's Supreme Court of Appeals ruled in 2012 that while Alevis are Muslims, the *cemevi* that they use for worship are not legally houses of worship, and thus entitled to state support, because only mosques qualify as houses of worship for Muslims. On the other hand, in the Christian-majority states, the kinds of parallels between Christian practices and those of Alevis and followers of dervish orders that Hasluck noted as syncretic, are seen as evidence that the Alevis are the descendants of converts from Christianity and are thus 'really' Christians, while similarities in practice are used to support claims to Alevi-dervish sacred sites as also being originally Christian.

Moving to the realm of theory, however, we should not be surprised when syncretism leads to contestation, because that which is syncretic (or hybrid, if that is preferred) is also thereby *liminal*, since it shares some aspects of two or more recognized practices but thereby also differs from the generally accepted configurations of each of them. As Mary Douglas argued in 1966, that which is liminal is often seen as impure, dangerous, dirty, and thus as requiring action to end the liminality by forcing conformance to a supposed standard. Of course, Douglas realized that social life was actually rarely likely to be as orderly as either formal models or folk terminology might envision it, and that social action negotiating the boundaries of what had been said to be heterodox actually determined through time the boundaries of what was accepted as orthodox. In this model, the distinction between orthodoxy and nonconformance remains robust even as the practices or other traits that supposedly define orthodoxy might themselves change. In the realm of ethnic groups, Barth (1969) elegantly demonstrated that most of the 'cultural matter'

that supposedly characterizes a group can change or vary though time without bringing into question the identity of that group as such, to its own members or to others. Rather than the boundaries of ethnic groups being determined by a specific cultural content that defines that group, instead it is the maintenance of the boundaries themselves that continues to distinguish groups from each other even as they may come to share many of the same cultural features that should, supposedly, differentiate them (Barth 1969).

Since Barth, much work has gone into showing how the supposedly essential qualities of cultures, peoples, nations, genders or religions are constructed, thus not inevitable or 'natural', and also inherently fluid and unstable. Yet such analyses ignore what may be the more important part of Barth's analysis, which was that even though the cultural content that supposedly defines groups and distinguishes one from another may be fluid, unstable and changeable, the boundaries between them are likely to remain, and group identity not be called into question. Thus while the cultural matter associated with an identity may well be fluid, this does not mean that the identity itself is fluid. Quite the contrary is often true: distinctions remain robust through protracted periods of time even as the people associating themselves with each group, and thus distinguishing themselves from each other, would be hard to distinguish through observable cultural features.

In fact, it may be better to see identities as not themselves fluid, but rather the practices and beliefs that supposedly define them as exhibiting fluidity. The social boundary should be envisioned as being more like a semipermeable membrane than a barrier. Barth in fact used a hydraulic metaphor to address the problem of the non-fixed nature of cultural materials, saying that boundaries remain stable not only when the substance that supposedly defines them changes but also when personnel 'flow' across them (Barth 1969: 9). In this model, it is not the identity constructions that are fluid but rather the liminal spaces between the categories, the practices, beliefs and other 'cultural stuff' that may be more or less shared by members of both communities.

Thus the distinctions between groups remain, even as the features that supposedly serve to distinguish them from each other diminish. This model is very useful for explaining long-term patterns of interaction between peoples such as those of Bosnia, who remain distinguished from each other, apparently, largely because they distinguish themselves from each other. Lest this seem far-fetched, consider the black humor circulating in Bosnia as the population self-partitioned into groups defined by the religious backgrounds of their ancestors, even after 45 years of official atheism and large-scale lack of religiosity: 'We're fighting because the religion you don't practice is not the same one we don't practice.'

In saying this, I am not adopting an 'essentialist' position, that favorite accusatory disqualification of post-post-structuralist discourse, but rather noting that, whether we like it or not, and whether we agree with them or not, a lot of non-academics seem to exhibit pre-post-structuralist mentalities, and actually believe that their religious identities are determined by specific

practices and beliefs that are different from those of other religions. While there are scholars who assert that we should not 'reproduce' such understandings in our work (Borneman 2007; Jansen 2005), it is difficult to see how social research that carefully avoids consideration of how people define themselves, how they understand their situations, and thus at least in part the motivations behind their actions, can be much other than fantasizing – the analysis of wished-for counterfactuals rather than grappling with undesirable realities.

In the present case, the distinctions between Muslims and Christians go back to the earliest days of Islam, and indeed, seem unbridgeable except by development of a doctrine that would merge the two faiths into one. Gregory Palamas expressed the logic well, in debating with his Turkish captors in 1354. The Turks kept trying to get him to acknowledge the legitimacy of their prophet, as Muslims accept Christ as a prophet, which Gregory kept rejecting. Finally Gregory ended the discussion by saying: 'Had we been able to agree in debate, we might as well have been of one faith' (Arnakis 1951: 110).[9] The basic unbridgeable gap in this case is the divinity of Christ, axiomatic for Christians after the fourth century and the pronouncement of Arianism to be heresy, but itself heresy to Muslims. A form of Christianity that renounces the divinity of Christ is unlikely to gain wide acceptance among other Christians, while a form of Islam that accepts the divinity of Christ is equally unlikely to gain wide acceptance among Muslims.

Empirically, observational studies of Christians and Muslims at shrines frequently attended by members of both groups have been very clear: from Hasluck in 1913 through very recent studies in Bulgaria nearly a century later, members of these communities maintain their separate religious identities, and avoid engaging in some of the characteristic forms of worship of the other religion. As one recent study put it, at sites in which members of two or more religious communities interact, '[c]ooperation between believers from different religious traditions should not be mistaken for religious syncretism. Deep down, this … is a cultural strategy developed by members of both groups for anti-syncretic purposes, that is to preserve the religious autonomy of each group' (Lubanska 2013: 107). As a leading researcher in the field summed up the findings of a volume on sharing religious sites in the Mediterranean, 'while the hybrid practices are striking, mixing with individuals of a different religion does not result, so to speak, in any evident damage to existing religious identities. Indeed, these "transgressions" usually appear to be associated with the original religious polarization' (Albera 2012: 243).

To sum up, empirical and historical data indicate that rather than uniting Christians and Muslims in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman space, the apparently syncretic dervish orders were and are instead liminal to the orthodox establishments of both communities. Further, the syncretic aspects of these orders have generally not overcome the communal distinctions between worshippers at shrines, even when the people involved are performing many (but

not all) similar actions. However, this continuity of communal separation should not surprise us, because it is definitional that liminal phenomena remain conceptually distinct from the more established forms of which they share only some attributes. When a religious site or order shares attributes with two or more larger religious communities, members of each of the latter may see the syncretic site as really belonging to their own group exclusively, and when political circumstances permit, take steps to enhance their own claims to the place. It is just such efforts that, I think, we see evidenced in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman space: the efforts by the Christians to claim Bektaşi and other dervish orders' shrines during the Tanzimat; the Sunni efforts to close or claim the orders in Sunni-majority post-Ottoman space; the Christian efforts to appropriate dervish shrines in the Christian-majority post-Ottoman state; even into the present time in EU member state Bulgaria.

Some South Asian comparisons

While the previous section provides a theoretical conclusion to this chapter, I want to end it with some consideration of how the experience of the dervish orders may be relevant to those interested in Sufi Islam in South Asia. First, the post-Ottoman experience indicates that Sufi Islam is most likely to be endangered, and Sufi sites destroyed, in Muslim-majority states. Considering the attacks on and destruction over the past decade of Sufi shrines in Bangladesh, Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Pakistan and Syria, to provide an incomplete list, this is hardly surprising. We should recall that in Turkey, the major dervish complexes of Haci Bektaş and Mevlana, which had been the headquarters sites of those orders, remain museums, largely Sunnified. On the other hand, in states where Muslims form a minority, Sufi shrines seem less likely to be destroyed, but more likely to be appropriated by the majority community. India would seem to fit this pattern well; I am simply not sufficiently knowledgeable about Sri Lanka to be able to assess the matter.

It might seem counterintuitive that Sufi sites will be more endangered in states with Muslim majorities than in states where Muslims constitute minorities. Certainly this conclusion runs contrary to that favorite, hackneyed line of politicians and publicists, that Islam and Christianity (or Islam and Hinduism) are engaged in age-old conflicts. The key is that in Muslim-majority states, the heterodox or syncretic features of Sufi practice are seen by many Sunni leaders as heresy, thus threatening to the faith. In states in which Muslims are a minority, on the other hand, the practices and sites that are syncretic with the majority community's practices may lead members of that majority to claim that the site really belongs to their community, and appropriate it, and this has certainly happened, and is happening, in India.

We might envision a hypothetical situation in which the Sufi community itself forms a majority, in which case they could appropriate shared sites, but this seems impossible actually to envision, because the syncretic identity of Sufi Islam requires that it exhibit characteristics of other, larger communities.

Even when an order has a great popular following, the model of syncretism actually requires that the syncretic practice be liminal, defined by sharing some attributes of other conditions while not actually merging with them. We may revise Gregory Palamas's response to the Muslims who tried to convince him that Christians and Muslims could honor each other's doctrines: were they to do so, they would no longer be Christians and Muslims.

Finally, a brief case study from Maharashtra compared with the experience of the Bektaşis to illustrate the social processes involved. I have analyzed the shrine to the Hindu saint Kanifnāth/Muslim saint Shāh Ramzān Māhī Savār at Madhi, Maharashtra elsewhere (Hayden 2002), and a film on the transformation of this shrine from about 1885–2013 is now available (Hayden and Valenzuela 2014). In brief, what began as the *dargāh* of a Muslim saint during a period of Muslim rule began to acquire a Hindu presence when the British ruled the region, and removed the legal and political superiority that Muslims had previously enjoyed by recognizing rights in the shrine to Hindu worshippers (Figure 1.2). With the independence of India, the political environment changed again, so that even in the secular republic, the balance of political power shifted decisively to Hindu politicians and the voters who supported them, so that the Muslims steadily lost more and more rights to the shrine, losing legal control completely in 1952 to a trust, the trustees of which were all Hindus, a transformation ultimately approved by the courts in



Figure 1.2 Flag offerings to the saint Kanifnāth/Shāh Ramzān Māhī Savār, at Madhi, Maharashtra, India, March 1992. Note the crescent tops of the flagpoles. Both green and orange flags are brought, some on the same pole
(Photo courtesy Robert M. Hayden)

1990. In 1992, the shrine was transformed to look primarily like the tomb of the Hindu saint Kanifnāth, and by 2013 virtually all signs of its original structure as a *dargāh* had been eliminated.

While there were occasional outbreaks of incidents of fighting between Hindus and Muslims throughout this process (indeed, it was such occasions of fighting that prompted the attention of the British authorities to the shrine in the first place), the transfer of interest and control from Muslims to Hindus tracked shifts in the balance of the overall political power between the two communities. In treating the Muslims and Hindus equally, the British effectively disempowered the former and gave new rights to the latter. I am reminded of the presumably unintended consequence of the Tanzimat's promise of equality to non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire after 1839, which not only sparked the construction of large numbers of churches in the Balkans and Anatolia for the first time since the fourteenth-century Ottoman conquest, but also saw Christian claims to Bektaşi and other dervish order tombs, *tekkes* and complexes. The majoritarian effects of independence, even in a secular state, could be seen at Madhi by 1948, when a local Muslim leader wrote to the authorities of Bombay state, saying that the village authorities, who were Hindus, were acting against the Muslims, saying that 'there is now our Rajya', and expressing confidence in Prime Minister Nehru's promise to safeguard the rights of minorities. However, no such safeguarding was provided and, as noted, the Madhi shrine passed legally into the control of Hindus five years after independence. We can see such rapid majoritarian trajectories in the Christian Balkans as well.

At the same time, however, we should note that while the shrine at Madhi itself has become completely Hinduized in the secular Republic of India, several other Kanifnāth/Shāh Ramzān shrines in the region have remained visibly syncretic, showing both Muslim and Hindu design and iconographic features (Hayden and Valenzuela 2014). The key seems to be that these sites are peripheral, not the main shrine to the saint, much less well known and much less visited. In other work on antagonistic tolerance, my colleagues and I have noted that shrines of subordinated groups may remain large and locally well known, so long as they are peripheral to centers of social and political life (Hayden and Walker 2013). While we drew those conclusions mainly from data from outside South Asia, we think that this general pattern is likely also to be found there. This is not as satisfying as predicting that syncretistic belief communities of Sufi/dervish orders can be a source of larger integration, but I would still predict that these orders will continue to exist, even thrive in peripheral areas, in Muslim-minority states.

Conclusion: belonging, and not belonging, in religious-majority nation-states

We might end by returning to the concept of belonging that underlies this volume, but with a twist. It has long been recognized that the 'dark side of democracy' (Mann 2005) is the tendency towards majoritarian politics, which exclude minorities from sharing sovereignty in practice. The literature on such exclusion of religious minorities is vast. By paying attention to minorities within larger minority communities, such as dervish orders in Sunni-majority states, we see a bit of an irony: in Sunni-majority states, the dervish orders face greater state hostility than in states with non-Muslim majorities. The reason for this difference is that in Sunni-majority states, political actors can focus on non-Sunnis as disfavored minorities, whereas in states with non-Muslim majorities, the failure of the larger state to distinguish Sunnis from non-Sunnis to some extent empowers the latter, since their members can claim protection as minorities as Muslims from states that do not distinguish among the varying branches of Islam. The members of the dervish orders are thus empowered, in non-Muslim majority states, to manage their visibility as Muslims and as a minority, in regard to both the larger state and the larger, Sunni minority within it (Sözer 2014). Paying attention to the varieties of such behaviors in the states ranging from Bosnia to Bengal, from the seventeenth century until the present, lets us clarify the commonalities of the political adaptations in what otherwise are often seen as disparate regions.

Notes

1 I am grateful to Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir for her comments and translations from Turkish, and for the comments of Deepra Dandekar and Torsten Tschacher.
2 A note on orthography: in the formerly Ottoman space, the same root word can take different forms in different languages. In general I follow the Turkish variants and orthography unless the context requires a South Slavic or Albanian form, or there is a common English term, like dervish.
3 Museumification was also used by the early republic to handle some of the major Byzantine churches that had been converted into mosques in the Ottoman period, another manifestation of the loss of power of the old regime's religious establishment.
4 I refer to Christianity as indigenous to Anatolia not only because most people were Christians at the time of the arrival of the Muslim conquerors, but also because even though the events that gave rise to Christianity occurred in Palestine, the major early doctrines were largely developed in Asia Minor.
5 As Selim Deringil (2003) has noted, there is a tendency for theorists of post-colonialism to ignore the Ottoman Empire. Deringil himself views the late Ottoman rulers as adopting a 'borrowed colonialism' in regard to the peripheries of the empire. Certainly the Christian peoples of the Balkans today regard the earlier Ottoman rule as having been colonial in character.
6 Ottoman rule in Bosnia was displaced by Austro-Hungarian governance, and in Cyprus by British rule; both lasted until World War I, when Britain annexed Cyprus in 1914 and Bosnia was absorbed into the new South Slav (Yugoslav) state in 1919.
7 Personal communication from Dr Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, October 13, 2014.
8 Kosovo is another Muslim-majority state, but its independence dates only to 2008, and as of April 2015, Kosovo was still not recognized by any countries and was not a member state of the United Nations. Bosnia is not a Muslim-majority territory though the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina that is one of its two component entities is such, but this situation was still in flux in 2014.
9 Thanks to Milica Bakić-Hayden for alerting me to this reference.

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